131 /99 cont./
•167 As is seen, the Tukano group is found distributed both in Colombian territory and Brazilian, and the migratory movements of natives between these two countries are quite frequent.

241 The Tukano work the land by means of the slash-and-burn [462] method. The piece of ground intended for agriculture is always cleaned of underbrush and trees by the /100/ men, a job at which each man works individually or assisted by his male [412] relatives. At one time, before the arrival of the Creole rubber [117] workers in the region, the trees and underbrush were cut with stone axes, but since the arrival of the rubber worker the machete has been introduced, and today no Tukano Indian would consider using the lithic instrument again.

Trees of great size are generally left in the place in which they fell, but small trees and bushes are burned toward the end of summer, or the dry season. The ashes obtained from the burning are used as fertilizer to improve the soil, but owing to the thin vegetal layer, to erosion, and to the general poorness of the land, the Tukano Indian is obliged to select and clear a [242] new garden every three or four years. The method of crop rotation is not practiced because the forest vegetation rapidly returns to invade the land that is not cultivated and tended. The field under cultivation rarely exceeds one or two hectares.

[412] The planting is done immediately after finishing the burning, among the stumps of the felled trees and the trunks of the toppled trees. Probably the only aboriginal implement used in the planting is the planter's stick (2),

> 2. Digging-stick /this term is given in English/.

which is used primarily to loosen the earth and to open holes in it for planting seeds or young plants. The ground is rarely cultivated and tended after the planting is done, but weeds are pulled out and care is taken that the forest does not invade the garden.

/26 cont./

*101 its own idiom; the Tukano say Wirã; the Pirá-Tapúya, Knã; the Wanãna, Kná; the Kumãdene, Desá; the Maku, Miná-dé. A small tribe on the road to extinction, and which has already even lost its own idiom, speaking exclusively that of the /27/ Tukano, is known as Arapasu, a term from the língua geral, which indicates a small woodpecker. Other tribes translate this name into their own language, and thus the Tukano call this tribe Kõ'rẽá; the Kubẽwãna, Kõré-wa; the Taryãna, Ku-hẽne; the Makú, Hom'de.

7th. -- We also think that in some cases the difficulty is increased because some subdivision of a tribe is presented as a tribe. For example: on the river Içana there is a tribe known by the common name of Cutia or Cutia-tapúya (of the Arwáke group), and in the local language called Awadzurunai. On the river Uaupés, precisely at Taracuá-ponta, there are still living today some families of the tribe Pirá-tapúya, belonging to the subtribe Bwá-põné, as is said in its own idiom, which, translated into Portuguese, means: "filhos da cutia" /children of the cutia (agouti)/. Above Jandiá, on the river Papurí, there is likewise a subdivision of the Tukano tribe, named "Boxsó-põrá," children of the cutiváia (small cutia).

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• 167 8th. -- Complicating the problem even more, there are the "descimentos" /descents/, as the voluntary migrations of the Indians were called, when they took shelter under the protection of the white, in order to escape the persecutions of other tribes. In a given period these migrations resulted in the displacement of a tribe far from its previous habitat. Thus, in the first half of the last century, Indians of various tribes descended from the upper Rio Negro and Içana and came to establish themselves on the Lower Uaupés, as one can see on the maps of Frei Gregorio de Bene (see below, p. 25 /the author refers to this page number in the original source, but see pp. 40 ff. in the original source, pp. 59 ff. in the translation/). Or perhaps they went deep into the forest, without anything further being known of them. Koch Grünberg tells us about several Káwa-yarí groups, who, from the

*101 /27 cont./

• 167 headwaters of the Içana and Querari, went on to the Apapóris by way of the headwaters of the Uaupés. Moreover there might be migrations by one and the same tribe to different places, and it will be designated in one locality preferably in one way, and in another, in another way.

*101 9th. -- It is also certain that, because the tribes are not distinguished very well, various tribes can come to be included under one and the same name. An easy mistake, particularly when they have identical customs, similar languages, and, who knows, using the same idiom. This is precisely what happens on the Uaupés. Ordinarily the first Relatórios /Accounts/ use the expression "Nações Uaupés" /Uaupés Nations/, including all the tribes that inhabit that river and tributaries.

These difficulties having been indicated, we shall try, comparing the sources, to identify the present-day tribes with the ancient ones, and thus to inquire into their habitat two centuries ago and the migratory movements that perhaps have taken place in this period.

/28/ 6. The Tribes of the Uaupés and Their Location

a. Lists of the eighteenth century.

1st. -- Padre Noronha in his "Roteiro" of 1759 mentions nine tribes, one of them on the Capurí or Papurí River, the Tariarana (Taryana), and eight on the Uaupés River.

2nd. -- Sampaio, 1775, lists 12 tribes on the Uaupés and its tributaries.

3rd. -- Ferreira, 1785, enumerates 21 tribes, one being on the Papurí River, the Cariana (Taryana), and 20 on the Uaupés.

Observations -- 1st. None of these lists is complete, their own authors declare. One will serve, then, to fill out the other, if it presents names that the others do not mention.

2nd. If a tribe from an earlier list does not appear on a later one, it might indicate extinction or migration of the tribe. Although forgetfulness of the reporter seems more probable to

4: Silva--360 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/247 cont./

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/footnote 76 cont./ plagues (insects) of every kind incapacitate the region for sufficient and economical agricultural production. The problem of hunger, driving away the inhabitants of the Uaupés, has not yet set in (and will be still longer in coming, as we note elsewhere), because it is a matter of small human bands, with a minimum of demands and already partially /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ helped by the food supplies that the Salesian Missions send in monthly from Manáus and other points of the country.

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Pertinent here is a talk that we had on the morning of the eighth of March 1956 with the Salesian Missionary Pe. João Marchesi, who since 1922 has toiled heroically in the Prelacy of the Rio Negro, and which is found summarized in 6 points in our "Diário," the last five of which have to do with the subject in focus. That is: "1st. -- This year a larger number of Brazilian Indians who worked in Colombia died, among them three from Pari-cachoeira (river Tiquié); 2nd. -- The Caiarí (Uaupés) has fewer people today than before, and it is going to decrease even more; 3rd. -- The Indians tend to come down, and a good-sized group of them is already established in Tapurucuá (former S. Isabel, on the lower Rio Negro); 4th. -- Many of the Pirá-tapúya of Aracú-ponta (Uaupés) have already come down to the Rio Negro, and others want to come down to there (and actually in our company, and in the same launch, on November 14, 1956, about two dozen Pirá-tapúya came down to Tapurucuá; 5th. -- They are also coming down from S. Luzia (river Papurí); some have already /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ settled near Bela-Vista and Tauá (lower Uaupés), where there are good lands, and they devote themselves to gathering rubber, which they will sell to José Maria

4: Silva--361 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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/247 cont./

/footnote 76 cont./ (Prefeito /prefect/ of Uaupés). And he repeated for us then the complaint that he had heard from the Indians: "The land is poor, it does not produce. Where are we going to find salt and clothes for our women?"

241 bring periods of scarcity. There can also be fixed every three or four years /248/ the period of hunger for these populations. The
241 indigenous conformism, the offshoot of indolence, ignorance,
731 and lack of ambition, the custom of the fasts, made obligatory
797 by the lack of food or imposed by traditions, the reserves of fruits that the forest provides, and sometimes, precisely in the season of the scarcity of flour, help the Indian to overcome this difficulty, which, by its frequency, indeed does not impress him. Nowadays he finds in the Salesian Missions relief for these periodic crises. During the times when their clearings do not supply them with mandioca for flour and beijú, the whole family, husband, wife, and children, runs to the Missionary centers. The parents will keep busy with some job, and, besides the daily pay they receive in order to acquire clothes and utensils, nourishment for themselves and all the children is assured.

7) Industry and trade.

177 We have already noted that among the tribes who live so close, in an environment with more or less identical natural resources, and bound together by marriage, and at times living in the same povoado, there is a cultural exchange in such a way that one tribe learns to make objects that formerly were made exclusively by the other and are still its specialty today, because it makes them better. From this exclusiveness in the production of certain objects, which correspond to the primary necessities of life, trade among the various tribes naturally followed. It
[438] seems that there is no trade within the tribe or maloca, because all of them know how to make the same things. Besides this, the communitarian spirit does not favor trade properly speaking.

/278 cont./

756 according to the cures or /279/ other extraordinary deeds that they managed to achieve. The more famous ones will attract a clientele from great distances and even from other tribes. Even some of the civilized who have settled in those regions let themselves be influenced, and they too avail themselves of the services of the pajé.

755 The influence of the pajé is such that the very foods of the
756 sick person will be subjected to his blowing, Baxséke. Even the
*[192] remedies given by the civilized are presented to the pajé, who will blow on them in order to give them efficacy. If the sick person gets better, the merit will naturally belong to the pajé. If he does not happen to improve and dies, he will explain that it is a matter of a malefice of another "stronger pajé," or because of having taken a remedy of the whites, or food "not blown," or, finally, of having been overcome by a new and unexpected malefice before the pajé could be called.

And if it is declared that nothing more can be done, the patient will be abandoned as somebody fatally condemned to death; and not infrequently the relatives will deny him any assistance, and even food itself.

[763] The patient, many times, after such a verdict from the pajé, will hasten his own death, refusing other medicines from the civilized and any food or drink (see V 23, stoicism).

• 167 It has happened that the pajé might declare the maloca or the
756 povoado irremediably dangerous, and then the Indians will not have any hesitation about abandoning it and will move to another place, in spite of all the difficulties (29).

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29. It has likewise happened that after a few years they return to the same place. In 1932 an outbreak of malaria killed about 70 Indians in Taracuá-ponta, river Uaupés. Although none of the students of the missionary school fell victim to it, the Indians, in fear, abandoned the locality. In 1947 they started to return.